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Iconicity, economy and frequency: the paratactic conditional perfective present construction in Russian

Иконичность, экономичность и частотность: бессоюзные условные предложения в русском языке

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Abstract In this paper a semantic analysis is provided of the paratactic conditional perfective present construction (PCPPC) in Russian. This is a conditional construction without a conditional conjunction (subordinator) which contains a perfective present or perfective future tense in the protasis. It is investigated whether, and how, this paratactic conditional construction differs from hypotactic conditional constructions, that is, conditional constructions containing a subordinator. Furthermore, the question is addressed as to how one can explain the difference in meaning between the PCPPC and other conditional constructions. On the basis of corpus data, a number of specific usage types or semantic features is distinguished which are typical for the PCPPC, and absent with hypotactic conditional constructions. It is argued that these features can be explained with reference to general linguistic principles such as iconicity and economy of communication, and frequency of use.

Аннотация В настоящей статье предлагается анализ условной конструкции без условного союза в придаточной части предложения, содержащего форму настоящего времени совершенного вида (*Paratactic Conditional Perfective Present Construction PCPPC*).

Рассматриваются семантические и синтаксические различия между этой конструкцией и подобными условными конструкциями с условным союзом, и предлагается объяснение этих различий. На основе данных из Русского Национального Корпуса определен ряд конкретных семантических типов употребления и семантических признаков этой конструкции, которые являются типичными именно для *PCPPC* и которые отсутствуют в условных конструкциях с условным союзом. В данной статье предполагается, что специфические признаки конструкции могут быть объяснены с учетом общих лингвистических принципов, таких как иконичность, экономичность коммуникации и частотность употребления.

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1 Introduction

As in English, in Russian the standard way to express a conditional relation between two situations is by using a conditional conjunction or subordinator,¹ but there are also conditional constructions that do not contain a conditional conjunction. I will call such conjunctionless constructions paratactic conditional constructions, as opposed to hypotactic conditional constructions.² I use the term ‘parataxis’ because the two parts of the conditional construction are placed side by side without the use of a conjunction that expresses the concept of ‘condition’ in the protasis. In Russian there are various paratactic conditional constructions, but in this paper I will focus on paratactic constructions with a tensed form in the protasis, cf., for example, (1)–(4):³

- (1) *Пересадят почку—откажет печень. Прооперируют желудок—оторвется тромб.* (Коммерсантъ-Власть, № 35, 2000.09.05)
‘(If) they *transplant* a kidney, the liver will fail. (If) they *operate* on the stomach, a thrombus will come loose.’
- (2) —Смотри, *будешь болтать*, погубишь не только себя, но и всех нас.
(В. Гроссман, Жизнь и судьба, часть 2)
‘Look, (if) you *will talk*, you won’t only jeopardize yourself, but all of us.’
- (3) Знаешь / дерьмо *не трогаешь* / оно не воняет.
(Беседа участников реалити-шоу «Дом-2», ТНТ 2005)
‘You know, (if) you don’t *touch* shit, it doesn’t smell.’
- (4) Мне хотя бы сапоги. С широким голенищем. Чтобы они как корабли. *Встал* в воду—ничего, *встал* в снег—ничего. (Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 193)
‘If only I could have some boots. With a broad top. So that they would be like ships. (When/If) you stand (lit. *stood*) in water—no problem, (when/if) you stand (lit. *stood*) in the snow—no problem.’

In (1) we find a perfective future tense, in (2) an imperfective future tense, in (3) a present tense and in (4) a (perfective) past tense. With respect to the presence of a tensed verb, all these paratactic conditional constructions differ from paratactic conditional constructions with a non-tensed verb in the protasis, most notably conditional constructions with an imperative, subjunctive, infinitive or non-verbal predicate in the protasis (see e.g. Švedova 1980, or Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001 for an overview of various types of paratactic conditional constructions in Russian).

Of the different paratactic conditional tensed constructions, sentences that contain a future tense in the protasis are by far the most frequent (see also Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 179). In most of these sentences with a future tense, the construction contains a perfective future tense, which is usually labeled ‘perfective present’ (PP), in the protasis,

¹In this paper the following conditional (and temporal) conjunctions will be discussed: *если* ‘if’, *когда* ‘when’, *как (только)* ‘as soon as’.

²Some linguists use the term ‘asyndetic conditional’ to refer to conjunction-less conditional constructions (e.g. Leuschner and Van den Nest to appear). Note, furthermore, that I also use the term ‘parataxis’ for instances where the apodosis is introduced by a resumptive form (*как* ‘so, then’, *тогда* ‘then’) or coordinative conjunction (*и* ‘and’).

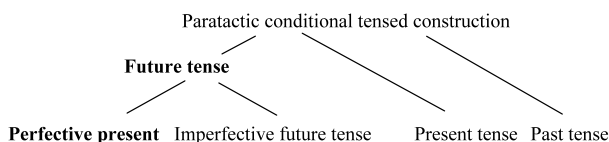
³If not indicated otherwise, the examples are taken from the *Национальный корпус русского языка* ‘Russian National Corpus’ (RNC).

and a perfective present in second part of the sentence (apodosis). In (1) I already gave an example, and in (5)–(6) two other examples are given:⁴

- (5) *Расскажешь^{pp} кому—убью!* (В. Пелевин, Синий фонарь)
 ‘(If) you *tell* anyone, I’ll kill you.’
- (6) А почему бы вам не организовать продажу ваших вещей у нас, за Уралом?
Появятся^{pp} костюмы—уверена, появятся и желающие их шить и носить.
 (Народное творчество, 2004.02.16)
 ‘And why not organize a sale of your things here at the other side of the Ural-mountains? (If/When/As soon as) the suits *appear*, I am sure those who wish to sew and wear them will appear as well.’

Sentences as those in (5) and (6) can have an actual conditional interpretation (‘if’) or a temporal-conditional interpretation (‘when’, ‘as soon as’). In the latter case, the realization of the situation is interpreted as something that will actually occur at some moment in the future. Whether or not the speaker presents the situation in the protasis as something that will actually be realized, is fully contextually determined. Since it is difficult to establish a boundary between temporal (‘when’, ‘as soon as’) and non-temporal (‘if’) uses, I will treat them both as instances of the paratactic conditional perfective present construction (PCPPC), which is an instantiation of the general paratactic conditional future tense construction. See Fig. 1 for an overview.

Fig. 1 Paratactic conditional tensed constructions in Russian



The semantics and syntax of conditional paratactic constructions has been studied quite extensively in the literature, but most of these studies focus on sentences with an imperative in the protasis, and many of them are devoted to English (to name just a few—Bolinger 1977; Culicover and Jackendoff 1997; Thumm 2000; Dancygier and Sweetser 2005, all on English; Corminboeuf 2008a, 2008b; Dargnat 2008 on French). Studies that deal with paratactic conditional constructions in Slavic, especially Russian, include for example the Academy Grammar by Švedova (1980), Voitenkova-Kor Chahine (2001), Dancygier and Trnavac (2007), Fortuin and Boogaart (2009). In general, the analysis of the specific semantics of conditional paratactic constructions has proven to be quite a complicated matter, and few analyses exist that explicitly discuss the difference in meaning between paratactic and hypotactic conditionals. The complicated nature of the semantic difference between such near synonymous constructions probably also explains why there are very few analyses that are specifically devoted to the Russian paratactic conditional future tense construction. To my knowledge, the most complete analysis is the comprehensive

⁴In all sentences I have indicated the perfective present with uppercase ‘pp’. I have also given English translations, for those readers that do not have a command of Russian. In the English translations I have indicated which element corresponds with the Russian original by using italics. I have tried to stay as close to the Russian original as possible, and not strived for fully natural English sentences. Furthermore, in the English translations I have put the conditional conjunction between brackets, in order to give an idea about the structure of the Russian original.

overview given by Voitenkova-Kor Chahine (2001). Even though this dissertation contains many relevant insights, a corpus based study, which systematically analyzes the semantics and syntax of the construction and gives an explanation for the semantic and syntactic features of this construction, is still missing. The primary goal of the present paper is to provide such an analysis of the paratactic conditional future tense construction, especially the more frequent PCPPC:

- What is the meaning of the PCPPC, and what are the specific usage types of this construction? What is the difference in meaning between the PCPPC and other conditional constructions in Russian, specifically hypotactic sentences with the conditional conjunction *если*?
- How can we explain the specific semantic and syntactic features of the PCPPC? Are the specific semantic and syntactic features of the PCPPC idiosyncratic features, or are they similar to features of paratactic conditional constructions in other languages?

As I will show, there are specific semantic features which set the PCPPC apart from hypotactic conditional constructions. Besides these semantic differences, there are also differences in style and register that set the PCPPC apart from regular conditional constructions. In this paper I will argue that the specific semantic features of the PCPPC can at least partly be motivated with reference to general linguistic principles such as economy of communication, iconicity, and frequency.

This paper has the following structure. First, in Sect. 2, I will discuss the formal properties of the PCPPC such as tense and aspect. In Sect. 3, I will discuss the specific semantics associated with the construction, and the different usage types of the PCPPC. In Sect. 4, I will discuss the use of resumptive forms and coordinative conjunctions in the apodosis of the construction such as *то*, *так*, *может* ‘then’ and *и* ‘and’. Finally, in Sect. 5, I will provide the conclusion of this paper.

2 Formal properties of the conditional future tense construction

2.1 Tense and aspect

The main predicate of the protasis of the PCPPC is a perfective present. A perfective present conceptualizes a single complete telic event, the realization of which is situated after a particular vantage point, often the moment of speech (see e.g. Bondarko 1971 and Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000 for a discussion of Russian aspect in general, and Rathmayr 1976 for an analysis of the perfective present). In conditional or temporal constructions with *если* or *когда*, the perfective present expresses a future event that precedes another future event:

- (7) А когда *придёт*^{PP} весна, я *пойду*^{PP} на Север.
 (С. Козлов, Правда, мы будем всегда?)
 ‘When spring *comes*, I *will go* to the north.’

In (7) the completion of the situation expressed by the perfective present in the protasis is conceptualized as the condition for the occurrence or completion of another situation expressed in the apodosis. The same use of the perfective present is present in the PCPPC. In contrast to sentences with *если* the PCPPC is restricted to hypothetical content conditionals, and cannot be used to express a counterfactual condition as in sentences with

если бы. This underscores that the concept of a single complete future event is still part of the meaning of the perfective present in the PCPPC. In this respect the PCPPC shows a close semantic connection to temporal-conditional constructions with *когда*.

Data from the RNC suggest that paratactic conditionals with a perfective present in the protasis are usually followed by a perfective present in the apodosis as in (1), (5) and (6). In such sentences the full completion of the first event is linked to the full completion of another single event. Sentences with an imperfective future tense, (8) and (9), or present tense, (10), in the apodosis are, however, not excluded:

- (8) *Пройдёт*^{PP} сто лет—над нами как над дикарями *будут смеяться*^{IPF}.
(Rathmayr 1976, 156)
'(When/after) a hundred year has passed [lit. *will pass*], they *will laugh* at us as if we are savages.'
- (9) *Понадобится*^{PP} мне тысяча, *будет*^{IPF} тысяча, *понадобится*^{PP} пятьдесят тысяч, *будет*^{IPF} и пятьдесят.
(Švedova 1980, 639)
'(If) I *need* a thousand, there *will be* a thousand, and (if) I *need* fifty thousand, there *will be* fifty thousand as well.'
- (10) А это такая зараза / один раз *услышишь*^{PP} / и ещё *хочется*^{IPF}!
(Радио-Пик, Иркутск 2000–2004)
'It's contagious, (if) you *hear* it once, you *want* to hear it again.'

In (8) the imperfective future tense is used in the apodosis to convey an iterative event. The use of the nearest perfective counterpart of *смеяться* 'laugh' (*засмеяться* 'start to laugh') would convey an ingressive meaning, which is not what the speaker wants to convey. A similar explanation can be given for the present tense in the apodosis in (10). In (9) there is no corresponding perfective counterpart available of *будет тысяча*.

Furthermore, the use of the present tense or imperfective past tense in the apodosis occurs in narrative contexts, cf. (11) and (12):

- (11) *Закроют*^{PP} «Правду»—выходит^{IPF} «Путь правды». *Закроют*^{PP} «Путь правды»—начинает^{IPF} выходить «Трудовая правда». (Veyrenc 1980, 71)
'(When) the 'Pravda' would be closed down [lit. *they will close down*], the 'Put pravdy' would be published [lit. *is published*]. (When) the 'Put pravdy' would be closed down [lit. *they will close down*], they would start to publish the 'Trudovaja Pravda' [lit.: the 'Trudovaja Pravda' *starts* to be published].'
- (12) Впереди пробирался старшой, подавая команду осторожным движением руки: *поднимет*^{PP} руку над головой—все тотчас *останавливались*^{IPF} и *замирали*^{IPF}; *вытянет*^{PP} руку в сторону с наклоном к земле—все в ту же секунду быстро и бесшумно *ложились*^{IPF}; *махнет*^{PP} рукой вперед—все *двигались*^{IPF} вперед; *покажет*^{PP} назад—все медленно *пятились*^{IPF} назад.
(Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 181)
'In front the commander made his way, commanding with a careful movement of this hand: (when) he put [lit. *will put*] his hand above his head, everyone *would stop* immediately and *freeze*, (when) he *stretched* his arm aside towards the ground, everyone *would lay down* silently within a second, (when) he *waved* his armed in front of him, everyone *would move* forward, and (when) he *pointed* his arm to the back, everyone *would slowly move* backwards.'

In such sentences the imperfective in the apodosis can be explained with reference to the repetitive context.⁵ The perfective present in the preceding protasis is an instance of, or similar to the so-called *наглядно-примерное значение* ‘illustrative-exemplary meaning’ of the perfective present (cf. Veyrenc 1980, 71).

I will now focus on tense and aspect in the protasis. As I mentioned in Sect. 1, there are also (conditional paratactic) sentences with an imperfective future tense in the protasis. In some sentences we find the imperfective future tense marker *будет* ‘will be’ in the protasis with a noun, adjective or adverb, cf. (13) and (14):

- (13) Будет не хуже других, а *будет*^{ipf} хуже—все равно другого нет.
(Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 170)
‘He [= political instructor] won’t be worse than the others, but (if) he *will*, there is no alternative for him anyway.’
- (14) —То есть / будет ли он обладать каким-то влиянием в дальнейшем / и почему? —Денги *будут*^{ipf} / *будет*^{ipf} и влияние.
(Беседа в Новосибирске, 2004)
‘—That is, will he exert any influence in the future, and why?—(If) he has [lit. there *will be*] money, he will have influence as well.’

In such sentences there is no corresponding perfective counterpart, which explains the use of *будет*. In other sentences we find a regular imperfective future tense as in (2) with *болатъ*, or in the sentence given in (15):

- (15) Если, говорит, хавальник еще откроешь, то поймешь, кто тут сильнее. А не *будешь*^{ipf} *подчиняться*, я тебя на фиг зарежу на операции.
(Октябрь 2002, № 9; <http://magazines.russ.ru/october/2002/9/kant.html>.)
‘If, he says, you open your mouth once more, you’ll understand who is stronger. And (if) you *won’t obey*, I will cut you to hell during the operation.’

In (2) the use of the imperfective future tense (instead of a perfective present) can be explained with reference to the lexical meaning of the verb, which expresses an activity. In (15), the use of the imperfective future tense instead of its perfective present counterpart conceptualizes the situation as something that has a durative character, and also focuses the attention on the onset of this situation (‘start being obedient’). As I will show later, sentences with an imperfective future tense in the protasis share important semantic-syntactic features with sentences having a perfective future tense in the protasis.

The PCPPC also shares particular semantic-syntactic features with conditional sentences without a conditional conjunction and with a present tense in the protasis as in (3). A pilot search in the RNC suggests that such sentences are relatively infrequent (cf. Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 187). Some additional examples are given in (16)–(18):

- (16) Вон цветок... самый что ни на есть плохонький, а *глядишь*^{ipf} на него—сердце радуется.
(Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 157)
‘There is the flower... it is the most shabby one there is, but (if) you *look* at it, your heart is filled with joy.’

⁵In the case of situations with some duration as in (11), the imperfective present tense in the apodosis is perhaps also partly triggered by the focus on the onset of the action: ‘When X would occur, Y *would start to occur*.’ Note that the use of the imperfective to focus on the onset of the action is typical for the imperative and the infinitive. Whether it also plays a part in non-modal contexts like in (11) is a topic that deserves separate study.

- (17) Главное при капитализме—свобода. *Хочешь*^{ipf}—пьёшь с утра до ночи. *Хочешь*^{ipf}—вкалываешь круглые сутки. (С. Довлатов, Чемодан)
 ‘The main thing about capitalism is freedom. (If) you *want* to, you [can] drink all day. (If) you *want* to, you can work your butt off for 24 hours.’
- (18) Замечательно успокаивают—*начинаешь*^{ipf} их гладить, и так хорошо на душе становится. (Дел (Самара), 2002.05.03)
 ‘They [= Persian cats] can make you wonderfully calm—(if) you *start* to caress them, you start to feel really happy.’

There seem to be two factors that trigger the use of the present tense. First, in all sentences given above the subject is a second person with a generic function (so-called *обобщенно-личное значение* ‘generalized personal meaning’). It may be that because the subject can be associated with anyone in a particular situation (including the speaker), the situation expressed by the verb is easily associated with an iterative or habitual context (‘each time one does X, Y applies’). A habitual character is also present in the following example from a narrative by Чехов, where the subject refers to non-specified people other than the speaker (‘they’) (so-called *неопределенно-личное значение* ‘undetermined personal meaning’):

- (19) Ружье *отнимают*^{ipf}, я за удочку, удочку *отнимают*^{ipf}, я руками промышляю. (А. Чехов, Егерь)
 ‘(If) they *took* away my gun, I used to go out with the fishing-hook, if they *took* the hook I caught things with my hands.’ [translation from RNC parallel corpus]

Second, in (16) and (17) the verb expresses an inherently imperfective situation (*глядеть* ‘look’ and *хотеть* ‘want’), which blocks the use of the perfective present. A similar explanation can be given for the use of the present tense in (20), where the verb refers to a hypothetical situation which, provided that it turns out to be a real situation, exists already at the moment of speaking:

- (20) Мне не *веришь*^{ipf}, спроси стариков; каждый тебе скажет, что рыба теперь совсем не та, что была. (А. Чехов, Свирель)
 ‘(If) you don’t *believe* me ask the old people; every old man will tell you that the fish are not at all what they used to be.’ [translation from RNC parallel corpus]

Furthermore, the use of the present tense seems to have a function that is to some extent similar to the use of the present tense in narrative contexts (historical present), which makes the narration more vivid.

Finally, as I mentioned in Sect. 1, there are also paratactic conditional sentences with a (perfective or imperfective) past tense in the protasis. In (4) I already gave an example with a perfective past tense. Cases with a past tense seem to be relatively infrequent. Even though, as I will discuss later, such sentences share specific semantic-syntactic features with the PCPPC, they also differ in important respects. This is especially evident in sentences with an imperfective past tense such as in (21):

- (21) Земли он нынче не пахал. *Проходили*^{ipf} красные—мобилизовали коня. *Проходили*^{ipf} белые—мобилизовали домашнюю птицу. (Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 192)
 ‘Now he did not plow his land anymore. (When) the soldiers of the red army *passed by*, they took his horse. (When) the soldiers of the white army *passed by*, they took his bird.’

Sentences like these are not conditional, but have a strict temporal meaning: they express that at some point in time in the past an event happened ('the soldier passed by'), which coincided with another event ('they took the horse or bird'). As such, one could argue very well that sentences like these are semantically identical to regular temporal sentences with *когда* and a past tense such as in (22):

- (22) Когда учились в школе, демонстративно отпустили длинные волосы.
(Беседа В. Варфоломеева с Г. Явлинским в прямом эфире
«Эха Москвы», 2003)
'When you studied at school, you deliberately let your hair grow long.'

In (21), however, there still is a relation with a conditional interpretation because the sentence can be taken to presuppose a particular order in which the two situations are realized: the coming of the soldiers led to the taking of the horses. Cases like these show that conditionality is not a given, clearly defined concept, and that some sentences can be seen as more prototypical instances of conditional sentences than others. This is especially clear in the case of paratactic conditional tensed constructions where the conditionality is not expressed by a specific form, but rather an interpretation of a particular tensed form. In the next section, I will say more about formal contextual features that trigger a conditional interpretation.

2.2 Formal clues for a conditional interpretation

The conditional ('if') or conditional-temporal ('when', 'as soon as') character of the perfective present in the PCPPC is contextually determined. Because of this, the hearer or reader needs specific linguistic or pragmatic clues that (s)he is dealing with an instance of the PCPPC. Although the conditional interpretation of the perfective present in the PCPPC is an interpretation that depends on various pragmatic and semantic factors, there are specific formal features that sustain this interpretation: clause order, absence of resumptive form and specific intonation.

First, the protasis always precedes the apodosis, mirroring the temporal relation between condition/cause and implication/effect. As such the PCPPC shares features with the conditional use of the directive imperative where the protasis–apodosis order is also obligatory, cf. (23):

- (23) *Нанеси* молочко или крем с ментолом перед сном на проблемные зоны, и процесс похудения пойдёт быстрее.
(Даша, № 10, 2004)
'Apply the lotion or cream with menthol on the problem areas before going to bed, and the process of slimming will go faster.'

The obligatory protasis–apodosis order is absent in conditional constructions with explicit conditional or temporal markers (e.g. *если*, *как (только)*, *когда*), and the (counterfactual) conditional imperative with VS word order (see e.g. Fortuin and Boogaart 2009).

Second, in most instances the apodosis is not introduced by a coordinative conjunction *и* 'and', or by the resumptive forms *так* or *тогда* 'then' (see Sect. 4 for an extensive overview of the use of resumptive forms). The presence of a coordinative conjunction can in fact often be seen as a clue that one is not dealing with a conditional interpretation, cf., for example, (24), where the interpretation 'If I will catch a cold, I will die' is not likely:

- (24) Он столько до этого прошагал, что, стоя без движения, истёк потом и мог простудиться, застывая на морозе. “*Простужусь^{PP} и умру!*”
(Октябрь, № 8, 2001)
‘He had walked so much that he, standing fully still, was exhausted and could catch a cold, freezing in the cold. ‘I will catch a cold and die.’

This is not to say, though, that the absence of a resumptive form or coordinative conjunction necessarily points at a conditional interpretation. In some contexts without resumptive form a conditional interpretation is not very likely considering the larger context in which the sentence is used. This is, for example, the case in (25). Here it is not likely that the speaker wants to express a causal relation between marrying soon and becoming the boss’ wife; instead he merely lists three future events that follow each other in time:

- (25) Скоро мы *поженимся^{PP}*, ты *станешь^{PP}* женой босса, и к тебе *вернутся^{PP}* все твои подружки.
(Даша, № 10, 2004)
‘We will get married soon, you will become the boss’ wife, and your friends will return to you.’

Third, in written Russian, the two clauses of the PCPPC are often separated orthographically by a dash/hyphen (—). This convention of the Russian written language seems to mirror the specific intonation associated with this construction. In spoken language, the first clause is associated with a raising intonation, whereas the second clause is associated with a falling intonation (see Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 138).⁶ I will say more about the contextually determined feature of conditionality in Sect. 3, where I discuss the specific semantics of the construction.

Finally, it should be noted that the conditional interpretation of the PCPPC can also be sustained by the information structure of the construction. Interestingly, according to the native speakers I consulted, in many cases the information structure and word order of the *если* sentence have to be changed if it is turned into a PCPPC, as in (26):

- (26) a. Если все страны заберут свои долги / Америка не сможет жить.
(Беседа в Новосибирске 2004)
[SVO; accent on object]
b. *Заберут* все страны свои долги / Америка не сможет жить.
[VSO; accent on verb and object]
‘If all the countries *renege* on their debts, the USA would not be able to survive.’

Note that the relation between the VS order, and a conditional meaning is a more general property of Russian conditional (and optative) constructions (see for example Fortuin 2000, 169–171 and 181–185). This is a topic that deserves a separate study.⁷

⁶The presence of an intonational pattern that is different from intonational patterns of hypotactic conditionals is also part of paratactic conditional constructions in other languages (see e.g. Thumm 2000 on English, and Dargnat 2008 on French). This is a topic that needs further investigation (see e.g. Odé 2008 for an analysis of Russian intonational patterns in general).

⁷In the database of 36 instances of the PCPPC (see Table 2) there were only 8 examples which contained both a verb and a subject. Of these, 6 examples had VS order, and 2 examples had SV order. In the control corpus (also see Table 2) with 53 hypotactic conditionals there were 46 instances that had a subject and a verb. Of these, only 4 examples had a VS order, but 42 examples an SV order. This means that within the set of sentences with a verb and a subject there is a strong correlation between the PCPPC and the VS order (attested frequency of VS order with the PCPPC is 6; expected frequency is 1.48; Fisher two-tailed: 0.00019).

3 Semantics and usage types

3.1 Corpus

The literature on the PCPPC is rather scarce, especially with regard to quantitative data. Even though Voitenkova-Kor Chahine (2001) provides some quantitative data, these are rather fragmented and do not provide a very complete picture of the way the PCPPC is used. In order to gain more insight into the use and semantics of the PCPPC, data from the RNC were collected. The search term that was used to find examples of the PCPPC was [fut,pf maximal distance 3 words fut,pf] from a corpus of written (and some spoken) Russian with texts dating from 1950 onwards. Note that this search does not yield all the examples of the PCPPC in the RNC because the distance between the perfective present in the protasis and the apodosis can be more than 3 words. Furthermore, as I have shown, the PCPPC also occurs—albeit rather infrequently—with an imperfective predicate in the apodosis, see (8)–(12). Nevertheless, it can be expected that the results of this search give a fairly good insight into the general semantic and syntactic structure of the PCPPC.

The search yielded 10,323 randomly selected documents and 62,641 contexts. The data contained a large number of non-conditional uses. From these data the first 100 sentences with a conditional use of the perfective present were selected; in a later stage 19 examples were removed from the sample because the conditional character of these sentences could not be established conclusively, resulting in a total of 81 examples. This sample was investigated whether the sentences could be defined in terms of the different usage types or features mentioned in previous analyses of the construction (most specifically Švedova 1980 and Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001):

- Sentences with a structure of contrast-symmetry as in (1), which often express a ‘dilemma’ (see e.g. Švedova 1980, 639; Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 167, 169)
- Sentences with the character of a proverb or aphorism (see e.g. Veyrenc 1980; Švedova 1980; Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 184)
- Sentences that express a warning or threat as in (5) (see e.g. Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 171)
- Sentences containing explicit markers which stress that the slightest occurrence of X immediately or automatically leads to Y (see e.g. Fortuin and Boogaart 2009)⁸

Table 1 shows whether these uses or features are present in the sample of 81 sentences from the RNC. It should be noted here that some sentences show features of more than one type—a sentence can, for example, be a proverb and may also have a dilemma structure.

Table 1 Uses of PCPPC

Usage types	Number
Contrast-symmetry (‘dilemma’)	13 (16%)
Proverb, aphorism	11 (1 also listed elsewhere) (14%)
Sentences with explicit markers of ‘automatic consequence’	9 (including 2 warnings) (11%)
Warning	8 (9%)
Non-classified	43 (53%)

The data show that the features or usage types that are given here are indeed attested in the sample. At the same time, however, quite a large percentage—over half of the database—

⁸This feature is also mentioned by Garde (1963) with respect to the conditional imperative, and by Voitenkova-Kor Chahine (2001) with respect to conditional constructions with a non-verbal predicate.

could not be classified according to one of these features. This means that the classification in terms of the given parameters is incomplete.

Furthermore, the data given in Table 1 do not provide an answer to the question of whether the features that were attested are due to the specific semantics of the PCPPC or whether they are more general features of conditional constructions with a perfective present in both the protasis and the apodosis. In order to determine this, another search was conducted in the RNC aiming at a sample containing instances of the PCPPC and instances of hypotactic conditional constructions with two perfective presents.⁹ From this sample only those sentences were considered that are semantically and syntactically closely related to the PCPPC, and which can thus be seen as near synonyms. Therefore, 12 sentences with an apodosis–protasis order were removed from the sample. Furthermore, 5 sentences with *даже если* ‘even if’ were not taken into consideration because, based on the RNC data, one may conclude that the PCPPC occurs very infrequently with *даже* ‘even’.¹⁰ Sentences with the *если* and the resumptive form *то* ‘then’ were not removed from the sample since this resumptive form can be omitted in most instances without significantly changing the meaning of the sentence. This resulted in 36 instances of the PCPPC and 53 instances of hypotactic conditionals, totaling 89. The relevant information about the first

Table 2 Uses of PCPPC and *если, когда, как только* in a randomly selected sample of 89 instances from RNC

Type	PCPPC	<i>Если, когда, как (только)</i>
Total number of uses	36	53 (9 <i>когда</i> , 2 <i>как только</i> , 42 <i>если</i>)
Contrast-symmetry	7 (including 3 proverbs)	0
Proverb, aphorism	10	0
Markers of automatic consequence	3 (2 <i>чуть</i> ‘just’; 1 <i>еще раз</i> ‘one more time’) (including 1 threat)	1 <i>когда</i> + <i>непременно</i> (‘immediately’) in main clause 2 <i>как только</i> 1 <i>если хоть одну</i> (threat)
Warning/Threat	1	1
Non-classified	19	49

⁹For this, a search term was used with a larger distance between the two perfective presents: [fut,pf maximal distance 5 words fut,pf].

¹⁰The RNC data suggest that the use of the PCPPC with *даже* ‘even’ is extremely infrequent, but not ungrammatical. In our sample no examples were found, but the following example was attested in the RNC:

- (i) —А даже скажешь^{PP}—не поверю. (А. Битов, Лес)
‘And even if you tell me, I won’t believe it.’

Note that there is a complete restriction on focus markers expressing ‘even’ or ‘only’ in conditional constructions with inverted word order and without a conditional conjunction in German or Dutch (see, for example, Iatridou and Embick 1994). This suggests that the restriction discussed here is a cross-linguistic phenomenon which has, at least partly, to do with the absence of a conditional conjunction. A possible explanation is that it is difficult to relate the meaning of the focus particle to the conditional element of the sentence if this element is not linguistically expressed. In addition to that, in Dutch or German, where the conditionality is associated with inverted word order, additional factors may play a part, which, in contrast to the Russian PCPPC, fully block the use of focus particles. Note, however, that in Russian conditional constructions with a set VS word order, the use of forms like *даже* ‘even’ and *только* ‘only’ is quite natural (see e.g. Fortuin 2000, 2008). This is, for example, the case in counterfactual imperatives, cf. (ii):

- (ii) Монополия—это, само собой, плохо, будь она даже естественной. (Известия, 2002.02.04)
‘A monopoly is, that goes without saying, bad, even if it is a utility.’

89 conditional instances of this search are given in Table 2. Again, it should be noted that some sentences show features of more usage types.

Even though the corpus given in Table 2, which includes a control corpus with hypotactic conditional constructions, is not very big, the data suggest that the features ‘contrast-symmetry’, and ‘proverb, aphorism’ are indeed more typical for the PCPPC than for hypotactic conditional or conditional-temporal constructions. The features ‘warning/threat’, and ‘markers of automatic consequence’ are attested in both types of constructions. Furthermore, note that like in the corpus given in Table 1, over half of the instances of the PCPPC could not be classified according to the existing usage types.

In the following sections, I will provide a classification of the factors that trigger the PCPPC and can account for non-classified thus far instances of the construction.

3.2 Iconicity

One of the factors triggering the PCPPC instead of a hypotactic conditional construction is that the concept of conditionality expressed by the PCPPC differs from the conditionality expressed by a hypotactic conditional. As I will argue, this is because the PCPPC expresses the concept of conditionality more iconically (see Haiman 1980 for this term). Above, I already pointed at some iconic features of the conditionality expressed by the PCPPC. First, the sequential order of events described (cause–effect) is mirrored in the speech chain (obligatory protasis–apodosis order). Second, in contrast to hypotactic conditionals, the PCPPC consists of two main clauses, and the concept of ‘conditionality’ is not expressed by a special marker, either in the protasis or in the apodosis. As I will argue, this formally less complex structure corresponds to a conceptually less complex structure, with a higher degree of informality and expressiveness. Furthermore, the linguistic proximity between the protasis and the apodosis tends to match with the conceptual proximity between the situation expressed in the protasis and the situation expressed in the apodosis. Below I will go into these features in more detail by discussing a number of typical usage types of the PCPPC that can be explained—at least partly—with reference to the principle of iconicity.

3.2.1 Informality, simplicity, expressiveness

One possible factor which may explain the use of the PCPPC is the informal register and lively style that is associated with the PCPPC. See, for example, (27) and (28), which are instances of spoken, informal Russian, as written down by the author:

- (27) Муж-покойник пьёт—а мне всё терпимо. *Наблюёт*^{PP}—вытру, не то что перед соседями срамотиться. (И. Грекова, Летом в городе)
 ‘My late husband drank—and I have put up with it all. (If) he *throws up a lot*—I’ll (just) wipe it away, it’s not like I am going to be ashamed in front of the neighbours.’
- (28) Родни никого, все померли, сыновья на войне пали, жёны за других повыходили. Не *распоряжусь*^{PP}—соседки растащат. (И. Грекова, Перелом)
 ‘I don’t have any relatives, they all died, my sons died in the war, their wives married other men. (If) I don’t *make provisions*—my (female) neighbours will take them [= valuable belongings] away.’

The PCPPC seems to function as a stylistically marked variant of sentences with *если* or similar conjunctions, which portrays the concept of conditionality in a simple and direct

manner, often in short sentences like (27), which exists of only two words: *наблюёт—вытпру*. Such sentences where the protasis consists of only the verb constitute of about one third of the database of 36 instances of the PCPPC, against 5% of the 53 sentences with hypotactic conditionals. An instance of the latter construction is given in (29):

- (29) [Е]го отпустили, сказав, когда понадобится,—вызовем. (В. Быков. Болото)
 ‘They let him free, after they said that when they need him, they would call him.’

In the case of hypotactic conditionals, however, such sentences are relatively infrequent. The hypotactic conditional construction is also used in much longer, and more complex sentences, as is witnessed by (30) from our database, where the protasis consists of three conjoined clauses:

- (30) Если уступки Ходорковского не устроят Кремль, давление правоохранительных органов усилится и претензии будут предъявлены лично к нему, то у него, полагает политолог, останется один путь—апеллировать к общественному мнению, причём прежде всего к западному. (Газета, 2003.07.07)
 ‘If the concessions of *Xodorkovskij* will not satisfy the Kremlin, the pressure of the law enforcement agencies will get stronger and the complaints will be filed against him personally, then, the political scientist believes, there will remain just one course of action—to appeal to public opinion, and especially to the West.’

Such long sentences are typical for written Russian and cannot be paraphrased with the PCPPC. This is not just a matter of style, but also a matter of syntactic complexity or length: the data suggest that it is easier to leave out a conditional marker in structurally simple short sentences, where the protasis and apodosis are marked with intonational means.

The hypothesis that the PCPPC is a stylistically marked construction is also corroborated by quantitative data about the use of subjects. The data given in Table 3 show that sentences without subject pronouns comprise about half of the sentences in the case of the PCPPC, whereas they are very infrequent in hypotactic conditional constructions. There is a clear correlation between the absence of a subject of a personal verb and the PCPPC ($\Phi = 0.45$; Pearson Chi-square 18.19; $p < 0001$).

Table 3 Subject in the PCPPC and hypotactic conditional construction

Subject	PCPPC	<i>если, когда, как только</i>
Absent (personal verb)	20 (55%)	7 (13%)
Personal pronoun	2 (5%)	21 (39%)
Noun	8 (22%)	22 (41%)
Other pronoun (<i>все</i> ‘all’/ <i>это</i> ‘this’)	0	3 (5%)
Absent (impersonal verb)	6 (16%)	0
Total	36	53

In frequent instances of hypotactic conditional constructions the subject is expressed by a noun, which may refer to a non-animate entity such as ‘church’, ‘love’, etc. Such cases are relatively infrequent with the PCPPC. Note that in 10 out of the 20 sentences without pronoun in the case of the PCPPC, the subject is a first or second person. In general, omission of arguments such as the subject is a more general property of spoken Russian,

especially of dialogues. As such, the absence of a noun or pronoun in the PCPPC seems to be due at least partly to the style and register of the PCPPC (spoken language, especially dialogue, informal language, lively style).

Besides this, one of the reasons to use the PCPPC instead of a construction with a conditional or temporal conjunction may be that the PCPPC is indeterminate with respect to a conditional or temporal reading, cf. (31):

- (31) Красиво было так, что он время от времени вздрагивал: не снится ли ему всё это? [...]. «Расскажу^{pp}—не поверят!»—подумал Ёжик [...].

(С. Козлов, Правда, мы будем всегда)

‘It was so beautiful that he shivered from time to time: was it all just a dream?
‘(If/when) I *tell about* it, they won’t believe me’, the hedgehog thought.’

This is possibly also connected to the more informal register for which the PCPPC is typical. It may be that the need to be as explicit as possible is more typical of written, more formal language than spoken, more informal language.

3.2.2 Automatic consequence

In the literature it has been observed that paratactic conditional sentences, more specifically sentences with the coordinative conjunction ‘and’, often express that the slightest occurrence of X leads to Y. Bolinger (1977, 162) remarks for example that the apodosis in English paratactic conditional sentences is restricted to situations that are the ‘intrinsic’ and ‘automatic’ consequence of the situation in the protasis (cf. Dancygier and Sweetser 2005, 242). Similar observations have been made for the conditional imperative and other conditional paratactic constructions in Russian (see e.g. Fortuin and Boogaart 2009). It could be hypothesized that this character of ‘automatic consequence’ or ‘minimal unit’ semantics is also part of some instances of the PCPPC, even though the apodosis is not introduced by a coordinative conjunction, cf. (32):

- (32) Как странно,—думал он,—чужая жизнь, а я здесь только гость! *Уеду^{pp}*—всё исчезнет. (С. Довлатов, Иная жизнь)

‘‘How strange’, he thought, ‘someone else’s life, and I am only a guest here!
(If) I *leave*, everything will disappear.’

- (33) *Вырасту^{pp}*—сделаю такую машину, буду на работу ездить.

(Известия, 2002.12.25)

‘(When) I *grow up*, I will build such a car, and I will go with it to work.’

In (32), it could be argued, the use of the PCPPC emphasizes that leaving automatically, immediately and certainly leads to disappearing.¹¹ Similarly, in (33), the use of the PCPPC stresses that as soon as the subject is grown up, he will build a car to travel to work.

¹¹Because of its meaning, the PCPPC is not only comparable to constructions with *если* or *когда*, but also to uses with the conjunction *как только* or *как*, which expresses the idea of automatic consequence explicitly. Note, however, that the construction with *как только* does not occur with a negation in the apodosis. As such it differs from the PCPPC, cf. (i):

(i) Красиво было так, что он время от времени вздрагивал: не снится ли ему всё это? [...]. «Расскажу—не поверят!»—подумал Ёжик [...]. (С. Козлов, Правда, мы будем всегда)
‘It was so beautiful that he shivered from time to time: was it all just a dream? ‘(If) I *tell about* it, they will not believe me’, the hedgehog thought.’

A similar meaning of ‘automatic consequence’ also seems to be present in the case of sentences with the character of a threat or warning as given in (5) above, where the speaker uses the PCPPC with a second person singular to emphasize that the realization of the situation will certainly and immediately lead to negative consequences. As I have shown, similar sentences also occur with an imperfective future tense in the protasis, for example as in (2), with the idiomatic expression *будешь болтать* ‘you will talk’. Notice, furthermore, that this usage type also occurs with verbless paratactic conditional constructions, in which the feature of ‘automatic consequence’ is usually explicitly expressed, cf. (34):

- (34) —Еще одно слово, и я ухожу! (М. Милованов, Кафе «Зоопарк»)
 ‘One more word, and I leave!’

The absence of a conditional or temporal marker seems to present the hypothetical situation in a more iconic and therefore more lively manner than in the case of a hypotactic conditional construction (cf. similar constructions in French as discussed by Corminboeuf 2008a, 2008b).

Note, however, that the data seem to suggest that a similar feature may also be present in some sentences with *если* or *когда*, such as in (29), where the speaker seems to stress that they will certainly and immediately call him if they need him. Also note that in the sample of hypotactic conditionals with *если* there is one example which explicitly expresses the feature of ‘automatic consequence’. This is the sentence in (35), where the speaker expresses that the loss of just one Michelin star suffices to kill himself:

- (35) Если я потеряю хоть одну звезду, я покончу с собой. (Известия, 2003.02.25)
 ‘If I lose just one [Michelin] star, I will kill myself.’

It could be hypothesized therefore, that at least part of the supposed feature of ‘automatic consequence’ is the result of the use of two perfective present verbs in both the protasis and the apodosis, a feature which can also be present in the case of hypotactic conditional constructions. Even though this seems to be true indeed, it should be noted that if the feature of ‘automatic consequence’ could be attributed solely to the meaning of the perfective present, we would expect it to be fully absent in paratactic conditional constructions with an imperfective predicate altogether. This hypothesis does not seem to be corroborated by the data, for example instances with an imperfective future tense in the protasis (see examples (2) and (15)), or sentences with a present tense in the protasis (see examples (16) and (3)). Some of these sentences do in fact seem to have a character of automatic consequence (see for example (18)). This suggests that both the presence of the perfective present in the protasis and the apodosis, and the absence of a conjunction may contribute to the feature of ‘automatic consequence’. In addition to this, as I will argue in Sect. 4, this meaning may also be triggered or sustained by the use of a coordinative conjunction as in (18).

Is there any quantitative evidence for the hypothesis that the PCPPC is more easily associated with an interpretation of automatic consequence than hypotactic conditionals with two perfective presents? This hypothesis is difficult to test because of the fuzzy and subtle nature of the concept of ‘automatic consequence’, which makes it difficult to determine objectively the presence of this feature both in the PCPPC or in hypotactic conditionals. There is, however, some quantitative evidence that the PCPPC is more easily associated with the meaning of ‘automatic consequence’ than sentences with *если*. Note that in about 11% of the sentences in the corpus of 81 instances of the PCPPC there are explicit ‘automatic consequence’ markers such as *чуть* ‘just’, *только* ‘only’, or forms such as *вот* ‘lit. here’, cf. (36)–(38):

- (36) Чуть *попелеет*^{PP}—холодец растает и потечёт. (Завтра, 2003.08.13)
'(If) it gets warmer just a little, the [frozen] aspic will melt and start to run.'
- (37) Только *кликнете*^{PP}—прибегу. (И. Грекова, Перелом)
'You just have to *call*, and I'll come running.'
- (38) —Вот папа *поправится*^{PP}, возьмём вас обратно. (И. Грекова, Фазан)
'(As soon as/when) papa *gets better*, we will take you back.'

If the PCPPC is more easily associated with the semantics of 'automatic consequence' than sentences with conditional conjunctions, one could expect it to be used relatively frequently with such 'minimal unit' semantics markers. The comparison between the PCPPC and sentences with *если* does provide some evidence for this. In Table 4, an overview is given of sentences with *если* as compared to the PCPPC.

Table 4 Occurrence of 'minimal unit' semantics

	'Minimal unit' semantics marker absent	'Minimal unit' semantics marker present	Total
<i>Если</i>	41	1	42
PCPPC	33	3	36
Total	74	4	78

There is indeed a (weak) correlation of 15% between the PCPPC and the presence of markers that indicate 'automatic consequence' or 'minimal unit' semantics, but the numbers are too small to determine the significance with a Chi-square test. The Fisher exact test, which can deal with smaller numbers, suggests that there is indeed a small correlation which is significant (observed frequency of 'minimal unit' semantic markers with the PCPPC = 3; expected frequency is 1.85; Fisher exact two tailed; $P = 0.3$; which means that the reliability is 70%).

In sum: the data suggest that the PCPPC is probably more easily associated with the feature of 'automatic consequence' than sentences with *если*. This presumed association of the PCPPC and the feature of 'automatic consequence' may be due to the absence of the conjunction, which presents the concept of cause and effect in a more direct and iconic way, as such stressing the immediate consequences of the situation expressed in the protasis. Nevertheless, the data suggest that the association between the PCPPC and the feature of 'automatic consequence' is largely due to the presence of a perfective present both in the protasis and the apodosis. This explains why a similar feature can also be present in hypotactic conditionals with a perfective present in the protasis and the apodosis.

3.3 Iconicity and frequency: proverbs, aphorism, idioms

The data I have examined suggest that the PCPPC quite frequently has the character of a proverb, an aphorism or an idiomatic expression, cf., e.g., (39)–(41):

- (39) [*П*]оспешишь^{PP}—людей насмешишь. (proverb)
'Haste makes waste.' [lit. '(If) you *hurry*, you will make people laugh.']
- (40) Деньги *кончатся*^{PP}—позор останется! (Домовой, 2002.06.04)
'(If) the money *runs out*, the shame remains.'

- (41) Наконец, некоторые родители относятся к школе как к тюрьме: раньше *ся-дешь*^{PP}—раньше выйдешь. (Коммерсантъ-Власть, № 9, 2002.03.12)
 ‘Finally some parents relate to school as they would to prison: the earlier you go [lit. *sit*] there, the earlier you leave it.’

No such examples were attested in the control corpus of hypotactic conditionals. Also note that sentences with an idiomatic (but not necessarily proverbial) character also occur with a present tense in the protasis, as in (42) with the inherently imperfective verb *хотеть* ‘want’:

- (42) *Хотите*^{IPF}, берите, *хотите*, нет. (Б. Можаяев, Дождь будет)
 ‘(If) you *want to*, take it, (if) you *want to*, don’t.’

Many of these proverbs or idioms show semantic and morphological parallelism, or convey a structure of symmetry. Features such as alliteration, parallelism, rhyme and ellipsis seem to be typical of proverbs in general (Arora 1984) and can probably not be attributed to the PCPPC as such. Similarly, linguists have observed that some elliptical constructions have a proverb-like character cross-linguistically (see e.g. Norrick 1985). Also note that proverbs seem to be typical of paratactic conditionals in other languages as well. Thumm (2000, 7) remarks for example that in English paratactic conditionals of the type *you drive like hell, you’ll get there on time* “often occur as a conclusive remark in the form of a gnome repeating material from the preceding discourse and reformulating it in a concise and proverb-like fashion”. A similar argumentative function can also be perceived in the case of some instances of the PCPPC which are not necessarily clear instances of proverbs, but which have a concise structure and expressive character. This is for example, the case in (43)–(44), where the PCPPC is used to provide argumentation for a standpoint, or exemplify it in a vivid manner:

- (43) Деревья такие, что *взглянешь*^{PP} на маковку, и голова кружится.
 (А. Чехов, Мечты)
 ‘The trees are so tall that if you look to the top it makes you dizzy.’ [translation from RNC parallel corpus]
- (44) Он лежал под пологом, укрытый одеялом, и молчал; *спросишь*^{PP} его, а он только да или нет—и больше ни звука. (А. Чехов. Человек в футляре)
 ‘He lay silent behind the curtain, covered with a quilt; if one *asked* him a question, he said ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ and not another sound.’ [translation from RNC parallel corpus]

In such sentences there also is a relation with the *наглядно-примерное значение* ‘illustrative-exemplary meaning’ of the perfective (see also Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 184–187).

A possible way to explain why paratactic conditionals such as the Russian PCPPC are often used as proverbs or have an idiomatic character is that they evolved out of hypotactic conditional constructions. One could imagine that because of the idiomatic character of proverbs they are used frequently, which may lead to the omission of particular semantically ‘superfluous’ features such as the conditional conjunction. This explanation is in fact suggested by Kopotev (2006) for paratactic conditional constructions with twin infinitives, and in accordance with a general tendency in language that frequently used forms often show defective features (see for example Haspelmath 2008). Note, however, that Lavrov

(1941, 9–39) argues that conditional paratactic constructions were used besides sentences with a conditional conjunction in older stages of Russian, and gives some examples, especially sentences with the character of a proverb. An example from Old North West Russian without proverbial character is given in (45), where the protasis is introduced by the coordinative conjunction *a* (taken from Vermeer 1999).¹²

- (45) А михи и серебра не *добудеть* до пути, пошли с Нестеромъ симъ.
 (birchbark 21A/354)
 ‘And (if) he does not *collect* the fur and the silver before his journey, send it with this man [named] Nester.’

Furthermore, as is pointed out by Lavrov (1941, 10, 40–51 and 64–71) conditional conjunctions in Russian such as Old Russian *буде(м)* and *ес(м)ли* did in fact evolve out of paratactic interrogative constructions, instead of the other way around. Lavrov (1941, 11f.) also sees a relation between the proverbial character of many paratactic conditionals in modern Russian and the social group of peasants (*крестьянство*) by whom these proverbs were used in Old Russian. According to him, paratactic proverbs survived into modern Russian through this social group, and can nowadays, from a synchronic perspective, be seen as archaisms. Besides this, Lavrov (1941, 11) argues about paratactic conditionals with a proverbial character that because they are short and often contain rhyme they are less prone to language change. One might add to this that because of their function—expressing a truth, often in an expressive way—proverbial like expressions are very likely candidates for idiomatization. One can imagine that if a particular general wisdom or truth is framed in an effective way, and used frequently enough, it can easily become a set expression.

In addition to this, it is perhaps also possible to explain the relation between parataxis and proverbs with reference to the function of proverbs. In a paper defending the principle of iconicity, Haiman (2008, 45) argues that “a creative esthetic drive compounded of ‘imitation and ambition’” accounts for the creation of non-referential non-iconic symmetry, such as ‘twin forms’ like *flimflam*. Perhaps, a similar creative esthetic drive also accounts for the absence of conditional conjunctions and the presence of features such as alliteration, parallelism, rhyme and a concise structure in the PCPPC and similar paratactic conditional constructions. One could hypothesize that because speakers use proverbs or similar expressions to make a strong statement, putting extra effort into the esthetic component of the construction adds to its effectiveness. This possibly also accounts for the use of features such as parallelism in sentences that do not have a clear idiomatic (or proverbial) character such as (6), where the verb (*появятся*) occurs in the beginning of both the protasis and apodosis.

3.4 Economy: context dependency

One of the triggers for the PCPPC is that the conditional interpretation of the sentence is dependent on the—usually preceding—context. This context dependency is most clear in instances of the PCPPC that have a semantic-syntactic contrastive structure as in (1). Such sentences comprise about 16% of the corpus of 81 sentences (Table 1), and about 19% of the sentences in the smaller sample (Table 2). Note that similar examples were

¹²Vermeer, W. (1999). *Russisch op berke(n)bast van de elfde tot de vijftiende eeuw*. Manuscript. Leiden.

not attested in the sample of sentences with an explicit conditional or temporal conjunction.¹³

There are two types of contrastive uses. In the first type it is expressed that X leads to Y, whereas Z leads to W. Such cases have a contrastive structure because the first conditional relation ($X \rightarrow Y$) is contrasted with the second ($W \rightarrow Z$). Furthermore, there is a contrast between the protasis and the apodosis of both sentences (X, W), and (Y, Z), cf. (1) above. Voitenkova-Kor Chahine (2001, 167) uses the term ‘dilemma’ for uses like this, whereas Švedova (1980, 639) speaks of *симметричное размещение* ‘symmetric distribution’. Indeed, sentences with a structure as in (1) often express a dilemma because both X and W lead to negative consequences making none of the two possible choices (X, W) acceptable. However, a dilemma reading is not always present in the strict sense, for example in (46). Here the action that is suggested (‘to see’) is not formally expressed, but suggested by the verb ‘look’ in the protasis:

- (46) *Взглянешь^{pp} направо, [...]—бородатые мужики [...], идут по лугу [...]. Взглянешь^{pp} налево—[...] , лежит стадо [...].* (Vojvodić 1989, 60)
 ‘(If) you *look* to the right—[you’ll see] peasants with beards walk around in the field. (If) you *look* to the left—[you’ll see that] the herd is lying.’

Note that sentences with a contrastive-symmetric reading also occur with an imperfective future tense marker in the apodosis as in (9). Furthermore, the feature of ‘dilemma’ or ‘contrast-symmetry’ can also be present in other conditional paratactic constructions, for example in the case of sentences with a past tense as in (4), in the case of sentences with a present tense in the protasis as in (47), or sentences with conditional twin infinitive constructions as in (48).¹⁴

- (47) *Крутишь педали—едешь. Перестаёшь крутить—останавливаешься, так что даже отдельный тормоз не нужен.*
 (Запись LiveJournal с комментариями (2004))
 ‘(If) you *turn* the pedals, you ride. (If) you *stop* turning them, you stop, so that even a separate brake is not necessary.’
- (48) *Гусь, как говорил Собакевич, странная птица. Одного—мало, а двух—много. Еще страннее гуся запутанный сюжет с ввозом в Россию ядерного топлива. Не ввозить—потерять рынок. Ввозить—рисковать.*
 (Известия 2002.0121)
 ‘A goose, Sobakevič said, is a strange bird. One is too few but two, is too much.

¹³A (pilot) search in the RNC suggests that such sentences occur very infrequently with *если* and a perfective present. Among the rare examples are (i) and (ii):

- (i) *Если скажет умри—умри, если скажет убей—убей.* (Вестник США, 2003.12.24)
 ‘If he says die, then die, if he says kill, then kill.’
- (ii) *Если выполню [обещание]—хорошо, а если нет, то объясню причины.*
 (В. Шахиджанян. 1001 вопрос про ЭТО)
 ‘If I will keep my promise, that is good, and if not, then I will explain the reasons why.’

Note, however, that in the first example the apodosis contains an imperative instead of a perfective present, whereas in the second example the predicate of the first apodosis is an adverb, and the protasis of the second sentence is the negative form *нет* ‘there is not’.

¹⁴In the case of (48) the contrastive structure of the infinitival constructions also seems to mirror the contrastive (dilemma) structure of the preceding sentence (*Одного—мало, а двух—много*).

Even stranger than a goose is the complex topic of the import into Russia of nuclear waste. Not *importing* [means] *losing* the market. *Importing* [means] *taking a risk*.’

This suggests that the contrastive-symmetric reading is a property of paratactic conditional constructions in general, which cannot be attributed specifically to the PCPPC. Of course, in order to establish this conclusively, statistical data are necessary of other non-paratactic constructions in comparison to the PCPPC. This falls, however, beyond the scope of the present paper.

The second type of contrastive use has the following structure: first in the sentence preceding the conditional sentence it is mentioned that X is the case (or not the case). Then the conditional clause (protasis) expresses the opposite of this, usually introduced by a contrastive conjunction (*a*) ‘but if X is the case (contrary to expectation), then Y’:

- (49) —Она ведь убьёт!—закричал Шурка, бросая верёвку.—Она меня помнит! —*Небось не убьёт*,—сказал Булыга.—А *убьёт*^{PP}—похороним.

(Ю. Коваль, У Кривой сосны)

‘‘She [= female moose] will kill me!’’—Shurka started to cry, throwing the rope. She remembers me!’’ ‘*Let’s hope she will not kill you*’, said Bulyga. ‘But (if) she will kill, we will bury you.’’

- (50) Сияет цветок и серебрится, и освещает всё вокруг, ровно огонёк. Только редко кому его увидеть удаётся. А уж ежели увидел цвет да сорвал его—беги опрометью, *не оглядывайся*. Будут за тобою бесы гнаться, визжать, грозить, а *оглянешься*^{PP}—задушат. (Трамвай, № 7, 1990)

‘The flower shines like silver and lightens everything around it, just like a fire. It is seldom that anyone manages to see it. And if you saw the flower and took it—run as fast as you can, *don’t look back*. Devils will chase you, scream, threaten you, but (if) you do *look*, they will strangle you.’

Similar examples can be found with the imperfective future tense marker *будет* ‘will be’ in the protasis or apodosis (see example (13) given earlier, where *будет* does not occur with an infinitive).¹⁵ Besides sentences where the conditionality is connected to the contrastive structure of the PCPPC there are also sentences which have a more implicit contrastive structure. Consider for example (51):

- (51) Когда я решила не поступать в консерваторию в Ереване, а ехать в Москву и пробоваться в театральный институт, отец меня сразу поддержал:—Нельзя вариться в собственном соку, пусть попробует свои силы, *не получится*^{PP}—вернётся. (С. Спивакова. Не всё)

‘When I decided not to enter the Theatre Institute in Erevan, but to go to Moscow and try to be admitted into the theatrical institute, my father immediately supported me. ‘She should not stew in her own juice, let her give it a try, (if) she doesn’t *succeed*, she will return.’’

Since the father first states that his daughter should go to Moscow and see what she can do, the sentence following this (‘she doesn’t succeed’) is interpreted as the protasis of a conditional construction. Such sentences are in fact reminiscent of sentences with a structure of contrast-symmetry (notice that the conjunction *a* could be used here: *нужно*

¹⁵ A similar context seems to be present in some sentences with a past tense (see e.g. Voitenkova-Kor Chahine 2001, 193, her example 140).

попробует свои силы, а не получится—вернётся). In such contexts, the speaker might also have chosen to use an explicit conditional marker, but in more informal language this is not necessary.¹⁶

One could argue that contrastive contexts like in (49)–(50) can be compared to sentences like that in (52), with a conditional or temporal conjunction, where in the fragment following the sentence with *если* the conditional/temporal marker is not repeated:

- (52) [П]ока тормозишь умеренно, ничего не заметишь, а нажмешь сильнее—шланг раздувается грушей! Если лопнет, последствия понятны. А выдержит—владелец останется один на один с загадкой: откуда в тормозной системе ограничитель, не допускающий экстремальной остановки?

(За рулем, 2004.02.15)

‘As long as you apply the brakes gently, you notice nothing, but (if) you *put* more *pressure* on it—the hose will swell like a balloon. If it breaks, it is clear what the consequences are. But (if) it *holds*, the owner is confronted with a mystery: where in the brake-system is a limiter, which does not allow for such an extreme stop?’

Even though such cases were not attested in the sample of 81 instances of the PCPPC, the occurrence of this use in the RNC is reminiscent of cases where the PCPPC contradicts an expectation suggested in the preceding context (e.g. (49)). This suggests that contrastive contexts facilitate conjunction reduction, or conjunction ellipsis. A possible explanation for this is that contrastive contexts are inherently semantically-syntactically linked to the preceding context, with which they form a contrast. In the case of the PCPPC, there is no syntactic link with the preceding context, but there is a clear semantic relation. This can be illustrated with regard to (49). In the context preceding the protasis of the PCPPC in (49), the speaker argues that a particular situation will not occur (‘X will not occur’). In the discourse following this statement the speaker expresses the opposite (‘but X will occur’), with the same lexical verb. Since it seems reasonable to assume that the speaker does not contradict himself, the situation expressed by the verb is interpreted as a possible, hypothetical situation, and the sentence following this statement as the consequence of this hypothetical situation. As such, in the case of this sentence the idea of ‘conditionality’ is strongly suggested by the preceding context or at least sustained by the preceding context because of which no explicit conditional marker has to be used. This may be explained with reference to the principle of economy: if the addressee can infer from the context that the situation is meant to be interpreted as a hypothetical, the speaker can choose not to put effort into marking this hypothetical status with a separate form (cf. Zipf 1949).¹⁷

¹⁶The PCPPC seems to occur quite frequently with an additive meaning as in (3), (14) (‘also’, ‘as well’, ‘too’). Perhaps this is due to the fact that sentences with an additive meaning more easily relate to the preceding context.

¹⁷This does not explain, of course, why speakers sometimes choose to use a conditional-temporal conjunction where they can also leave it out as in (52): [пока] тормозишь умеренно, ничего не заметишь, а нажмешь сильнее—шланг раздувается грушей! This may have to do with various factors, most notably with the aim of the author to be as explicit as possible. More specifically in (52) the conjunction *пока* ‘as long as’ expresses a meaning which is not explicitly transmitted if the conjunction is left out. Furthermore, in the second sentence with *если*, the apodosis contains a non-expressed present tense form of *быть* ‘to be’ (*последствия понятны*), which is not in accordance with the structure of the PCPPC. Possibly, such sentences are more acceptable without conditional conjunction if the protasis contains an imperfective present tense as in (i), which has been found in an internet forum:

- (i) Не *соблюдаешь*^{ipf} это правило—последствия понятны.
‘If you do not *obey* that rule, the consequences are clear.’

What, then, about cases with a dilemma structure as in (1), (9), (46)–(48)? In such sentences, the conditional reading of the first conditional sentence has no contrastive relation with the preceding context, but with the sentence following it. It could be hypothesized that it is exactly the contrast between the two sentences which sustains their conditional interpretation. Furthermore, because of the absence of a conjunction, the PCPPC expresses the idea of contrast more directly and iconically. This iconic conceptualization emphasizes the idea of contrast, and presents the ‘dilemma’ in a more vivid manner.¹⁸

The hypothesis that the contrastive context of the PCPPC is facilitated by the communicative and interpretative logic discussed here is further corroborated by the fact that in other languages, conditional constructions without conditional conjunction can be associated with a similar type of contrastive semantics. This is for example the case in Dutch conditional sentences with inverted word order, a construction that is otherwise typically used as an interrogative construction:¹⁹

- (53) Milosevic kan wel roepen dat Kosovo een interne zaak is, maar dan moet hij ook gaan praten met de Albanezen. *Doet* hij dat niet, dan moet hij niet verbaasd zijn als anderen het van hem overnemen (cf. fn. 19).

‘Milosevic can exclaim that Kosovo is an internal business, but then he should start talking with the Albanians as well. (If) he *does* not *do* so, he shouldn’t be surprised if others take it over from him.’

Furthermore, a similar phenomenon can possibly be attested in Serbian-Croatian and Bulgarian (see [Appendix](#)).²⁰ This suggests that there is a natural relation between conditional constructions without conditional marker, and the contrastive contexts (cf. Thumm 2000, 12, who argues that in about one fourth of the paratactic conditionals in English studied by him conditionality is signalled either prospectively or retrospectively, by different linguistic markers). The same seems to be true for sentences with a ‘dilemma’ structure. The relation between paratactic conditionals and a dilemma-structure can also be attested in Dutch. In (54) and (55), two examples are given of different Dutch paratactic conditional constructions with a dilemma reading. Only in (54) the dilemma reading is sustained by the use of the conditional marker *als* ‘if’ in the sentence preceding the paratactic conditional construction:

- (54) Wat willen ze eigenlijk? Als ik voortdurend min of meer hetzelfde soort boek schrijf, klagen ze dat ik een geldmachine ben die niet wil veranderen. *Gooi* ik er een sociale satire tegenaan, zijn ze boos omdat ik mezelf verloochen.

(Dagblad de Pers 02–23–2010)

‘What do they want? If I write more or less the same book all the time, they complain that I am a money-making machine that does not want to change. (If) I *throw* in a social satire, they get angry because I deny myself.’

¹⁸Furthermore, the specific intonational pattern associated with paratactic constructions probably also brings in its additional semantics (see e.g. Thumm 2000).

¹⁹See Beekhuizen, B. 2008. *Dutch verb first conditionals. What the verbal context can tell us* (Paper presented at the UCLA, November 2008). Los Angeles.

²⁰It should be mentioned that in Dutch, Bulgarian, and Serbian-Croatian the paratactic conditional construction is a grammatically marked construction. In Dutch this is the case because the conditional construction has inverted word order. This word order is also typical of yes/no questions, and other uses such as imperatives with an explicit subject. In Bulgarian and Serbian-Croatian the conditional construction occurs with the enclitic form *li*, which is also used to mark yes/no questions. It could be argued that the abstract semantics of yes/no questions, or the historical relation to this construction, may play a part in the conditional construction. This is an issue that needs a separate analysis.

- (55) *Hij gaf hem de tekst—en dan moest hij alles bekennen. Hij gaf hem de tekst niet—en dan kreeg Leskov door zijn toedoen de baan niet.*
 (Perlmann's zwijgen, 569)
 '(If) he gave him the text, he would have to confess to everything. (If) he *did* not give him the text, then Leskov would not get his job because of him.'

4 Sentences with resumptive forms and coordinative conjunctions

In some sentences the apodosis of the PCPPC is introduced by a resumptive form or coordinative conjunction. The use of these forms can provide insight into the semantics of the construction, and the difference in meaning between the PCPPC and hypotactic conditional-temporal sentences with *если*, *когда*, and *как только*. Table 5 gives an overview of the resumptive forms/coordinative conjunctions attested in the corpus of 81 sentences (see Table 1).

Table 5 Use of resumptive forms in the PCPPC

Resumptive forms/ coordinative conjunctions	Number
<i>И</i> 'and', 'also'	7
<i>Так</i> 'so, then'	5
<i>Тогда</i> 'then'	2
Ø	67

Table 6 gives an overview of the use of resumptive forms/coordinative conjunctions from the randomly selected sample of 89 instances of both hypotactic conditionals and the PCPPC (see Table 2).

Table 6 Use of resumptive forms/coordinative conjunctions in the PCPPC as compared to hypotactic conditionals

Conditional construction	Use of resumptive forms/ coordinative conjunctions
PCPPC	28: Ø (77%) 6: <i>так</i> 1: <i>тогда и</i> 1: <i>и</i> (additive meaning; 'also')
<i>Если</i>	29: Ø (69%) 13: <i>то</i>
<i>Когда</i>	8: Ø 1: <i>вот тогда</i>
<i>Как только</i>	2: Ø

As Tables 5 and 6 show, in the large majority of sentences with a PCPPC no resumptive form or coordinative conjunction is used, even though in written Russian the specific intonation associated with this construction is often suggested orthographically by a dash/hyphen (—). This use was attested once in the control corpus with *если*, cf. (56):

- (56) Если ты будешь в Польше и не посетишь Краков—тебя никто не поймёт.
(Даша, № 10, 2004)
'If you go to Poland and don't visit Cracow, no one will understand you.'

The absence of a resumptive form or coordinative conjunction is not a specific feature of the PCPPC but a feature of Russian conditional constructions in general, and cannot be attributed to either parataxis or hypotaxis. It also occurs in hypotactic conditional-temporal constructions (*если*, *когда*, and *как только*) as is shown in Table 6. A pilot search in the RNC suggests that the large majority of sentences with *когда*, and *как только* do in fact occur without a resumptive form. Similarly, data from the RNC show that the large majority of counterfactual conditionals without conditional conjunction such as the counterfactual imperative or counterfactual subjunctive also occur without resumptive form, cf. (57):

- (57) Не *помоги* я, кто знает, что было бы...
(Б. Окуджава, Новенький как с иголки)
'If I *had not helped*, who knows what might have happened...'

Notice, furthermore, that the absence of a resumptive form is also a general treat of paratactic conditional sentences (see (3), (4), (13)–(17)).

A specific feature of the PCPPC is that it does not allow for the use of the resumptive form *то*:

- (58) *Вспомню*^{pp}, (*то) позвоню.
intended meaning: '(As soon as/when) I *remember*, then I'll call you.'

In this respect the PCPPC differs from sentences with the conjunction *если*, which occurs quite frequently with *то* (see also Podlesskaja 1997). Also note that the use of the resumptive form *то* is not fully excluded with the temporal conjunctions *когда* and *как только*, cf. (59) and (60):

- (59) Но как только человек провозглашается судьёй, то далее его по общему правилу удалить с должности нельзя. (Отечественные записки, 2003)
'But as soon as a person is appointed as judge, [then] according to the general rules, he may not be removed from office.'
- (60) Он пояснял мне: когда мы умираем, то как живые существа перестаём быть.
(Д. Гранин, Зубр)
'He made this clear to me: when we die, [then] we stop to exist as living organisms.'

Similarly, the use of *то* is infrequent but possible in counterfactual conditional constructions without conditional conjunction in which the conditionality is marked by means of obligatory VS word order in the protasis, more specifically the counterfactual imperative conditional as in (61) or the subjunctive conditional as in (62):

- (61) [О]ни ни перед кем не отвечают, а *имей* они партбилет в кармане, то можно было бы с них спросить. (Известия, 2003.03.03)
'They don't answer to anyone, but (if) they *had* a Party membership card in their pocket, then you could make them accountable.'
- (62) *Был бы* он жив, то от такого удара немедленно отдал бы кому-нибудь душу.
(В. Пелевин, Тайм-аут, или Вечерняя Москва)
'*Had he been* alive, then that blow would have killed him instantly.'

The PCPPC shares the restriction on *то* with other conditional paratactic constructions such as sentences with a present tense as in (3), sentences with a (second person) imperative

predicate as in (23), or sentences with a nominal predicate as in (34). Compare, for example, (23) with the same sentence with *mo* in (63):

- (63) Наноси молочко или крем с ментолом перед сном на проблемные зоны, (*то) процесс похудения пойдёт быстрее. (Даша, № 10, 2004)
 'Apply the lotion or crème with menthol before going to bed on the problem areas, and [then] the process of slimming will go faster.'

These paratactic constructions have the following semantic-syntactic features in common:

- They lack specific conditional marking (unlike paratactic conditionals with an obligatory VS order).
- They express hypothetical conditionality (unlike paratactic conditionals that express counterfactual conditionality).
- They allow—at least in some contexts—for the use of a coordinative conjunction (for more discussion see below).
- They have an obligatory protasis–apodosis clause order.

To summarize the overview presented above, the use of *mo* is connected to hypotactic conditional constructions, especially sentences with *если*, and to a much lesser extent to paratactic conditional constructions which have a specific conditional marking (VS word order), expressing counterfactual conditionality. The resumptive form *mo* is also rather restricted, though not unacceptable, in sentences with temporal markers such as *когда* and *как только*.

The specific distribution of *mo* can at least partly be explained with reference to its function. According to the literature, *mo*, or similar forms in other languages, has a deictic, anaphoric or resumptive function (for analyses see e.g. Dancygier and Sweetser 1997 on English *then*, Iatridou and Embick 1994 on German *dann*, Podlesskaja 1997 on Russian *mo*, and Renmans and van Belle 2003 on Dutch *dan*). In their analysis of English *then*, Dancygier and Sweetser (1997) stress that *then* is anaphoric, because it restricts the possible mental spaces to which *then* refers to exactly one ('this mental space, and not another one'). Dancygier and Sweetser (1997) argue that this meaning also explains why *then* is not used in sentences where it is linguistically emphasized that the *if*-clause refers to one specific mental space. According to them this is the case in sentences with *even if* or *only if*. Note that a similar restriction is also observed by Podlesskaja (1997) for Russian *mo*.²¹

Following this line of thought, one can argue that the use of *mo* is strongly correlated with *если* for two reasons. First, the condition is expressed by a subordinate clause, which means that the protasis is syntactically more independent from the apodosis than in paratactic conditionals. Hence, the need may arise to link the apodosis to the protasis. Second, the protasis expresses a hypothetical situation. This differs from temporal-conditional sentences with *когда*, and *как только*. In such sentences the speaker refers to one specific future situation that will be realized, and there is no implicit contrast with another situation.

²¹Data from the RNC show that at least in Russian there are exceptions to this rule, for example (i) and (ii):

- (i) [Т]олько если они сами возьмутся помогать милиции, то добьются порядка в своём доме [...] (Вечерний Екатеринбург, 2004.11.06)
 'Only if they start to help the police themselves, [then] they can preserve order at their own home.'
- (ii) И даже если они захотят на старости лет высказаться всерьёз, то им всё равно уже никто не поверит. (Финансовая Россия, 2002.09.19)
 'And even if they want to start become serious when they are old, [then] no one would ever believe them anyway.'

The two factors mentioned above may also explain why in the case of paratactic conditionals, the use of *mo* is blocked altogether. Such constructions share important semantic features with temporal sentences with *когда* and *как только* because they can refer to actual future events. However, unlike sentences with *когда* and *как только*, in paratactic conditionals like the PCPPC the temporal-conditional character of the protasis is not expressed by a subordinate clause. In the PCPPC the relation of cause and effect is conceptualized iconically, that is, the construction conceptualizes the realization of a situation and the situation following that situation in time. This chain of consecutive events—the temporal meaning of the PCPPC—is only interpreted in terms of cause/condition and effect, and formally marked by means of intonation.

Even though I have suggested a synchronic semantic explanation for the restrictions on *mo* in the PCPPC, there is probably also a diachronic, conventional dimension, too. Lavrov (1941, 32f.) observes that already in Old Russian *mo* is attested frequently in hypotactic conditionals, and very infrequently in paratactic conditionals. He suggests the following explanation. Originally, conditionality was expressed by parataxis, which often occurred with the resumptive form *так*. This use was typical of the social class of peasants (*крестьянство*). According to him, hypotaxis evolved out of parataxis, in other social groups. In this construction, the resumptive form *mo* developed out of the demonstrative use of *mo*. This form was not used subsequently in paratactic conditionals because paratactic conditionals were used in other social groups. One might also argue that since paratactic conditionals were already associated with the resumptive form *так*, there was no need to start using another resumptive form. As such, resumptive forms are an inherent part of the conditional constructions in which they are used, and cannot be accounted for solely in terms of their individual semantics.²²

I will now turn to the resumptive forms that are used in the PCPPC: *тогда* and *так*. The resumptive form *тогда* ‘then’ has a clear temporal function, and points at a specific moment in time, cf. (64)–(66):

- (64) “Отработаешь^{pp}, тогда и сделаю.” (Октябрь, № 8, 2001)
 “(If) you *work off the time*, then I will do it.”
- (65) *Отдашь—тогда* поговорим. (С. Довлатов, Заповедник)
 ‘(When) you *pay it back*, then we’ll talk.’
- (66) *Последует* соответствующий указ—тогда и поговорим, а комментировать слухи мы просто не можем. (Еженедельный журнал, 2003.03.17)
 ‘(If) an official order *follows*, then we can talk, but we just can’t comment on rumors.’

This conjunction emphasizes the idea of ‘at this moment’, which accords well with the temporal character of the PCPPC. In some sentences, for example in (64), the protasis has the character of a separate directive utterance (‘Finish your work, then I will do it.’).²³ This suggests that in sentences with *тогда* the protasis and apodosis show less syntactic

²²Interestingly Polish *to*, which also has a deictic origin, is the preferred form in paratactic conditionals (Dancygier and Trnavac 2007, 27). This suggests that the deictic origin of *mo* is not enough to explain its present function.

²³Note that a similar use of *тогда* occurs in the imperative and in sentences with *если* (see e.g. Podlesskaja 1997, who claims that use with the imperative is old-fashioned). Data from the RNC show that this resumptive form also occurs in other conditional constructions, such as the subjunctive conditional construction or in sentences with *как только*, cf. (i) and (ii):

integration than in sentences without resumptive form (see Renmans and van Belle 2003 and König and van der Auwera 1988 for the term ‘syntactic integration’).

Besides sentences with the resumptive form *тогда*, the resumptive form *так* is used in the PCPPC, cf. (67)–(69):

- (67) Я об этом просто не думаю, и всё. *Свершится*^{PP}—так свершится.
(Известия, 2001.11.14)
‘I simply don’t think about it, that’s all. (If) it *happens*, [then] it happens.’
- (68) Он боялся Ирины, как мелкий травоядный зверь боится крупного. Бизона, например. Не *сожрёт*^{PP}, так затопчет. (Новый Мир, № 9, 2002)
‘He feared Irina like a small grass-eating animal fears a big animal. A bison for example. (If) it does not *devour* you, (then) it will certainly trample you.’
- (69) Не зря накануне премьеры «Трёх сестёр» тот же Чехов угрожал в одном из писем: вот, дескать, *провалится*^{PP} пьеса, так поеду проигрывать в Монте-Карло. (Домовой, 2002.02.04)
‘It was not in vain that a day before the premiere of ‘Three sisters’ the very same Čexov threatened in one of his letters: well, he writes, (if) the play *bombs*, then I will go to Monte Carlo and spend all my money.’

According to Voitenkova-Kor Chahine (2001, 161) *так* can be regarded as the counterpart of *mo* in spoken language, typical for paratactic constructions. It is true that in contrast to sentences with *тогда*, *так* has a more abstract temporal meaning and indicates the idea of ‘in that case’ rather than ‘at that moment in time’. Note, however, that in the PCPPC *так* is also used in written fragments. Furthermore, the function of *так* in the PCPPC seems to be much more marginal than the function of *mo* in hypotactic conditional constructions. Besides this, the resumptive form *так* is not fully excluded in hypotactic constructions which express hypothetical conditionals, for example in (70):

- (70) Как только я перестану надеяться, так помру. (Ю. Азаров, Подозреваемый)
‘As soon as I stop hoping, (then) I will die.’

It is possible that the function and use of *так* has changed over time. As is pointed out by Lavrov (1941, 28f.), in Old Russian *так* was used quite frequently in paratactic conditionals, and occurred very infrequently in hypotactic conditionals. He also observes that *так* is the only resumptive form that is used in modern Russian (village) dialects. In contrast, if we look at the use of *так* in the modern Russian PCPPC, there seems to be evidence for the semantic specialization of *так* different from *mo*, and probably also more specialized than the use of *так* in older stages of Russian. In particular, the use of *так* seems to be strongly associated with specific constructions.

First, the correlator *так* is used with a perfective present in the ‘X *так* X’ construction as in (67), which also occurs with other verbal forms, as in (71):

- (71) [П]латить так платить. (А. Слаповский, Гибель гитариста)
‘If you have to pay [lit. to pay], then let’s pay.’

- (i) А как только возьмут, одолеют врага,—тогда сразу и закури. (Родник, 1989)
‘And as soon as they take [Berlin], and the enemy is beaten, then light up a cigarette immediately.’
- (ii) —*Были бы вы* строгими гражданами, тогда бы вам всего хватило [...].
(А. Платонов, Государственный житель)
‘If you were strong citizens, then you would not need anything.’

In this construction *так* is an inherent part of the construction. See for example Kopotev (2006), and Israeli²⁴ for an analysis of this construction. Second, *так* occurs in sentences like (67), which stress that no matter what you do, or how things proceed, there will always be a particular (unavoidable) situation: ‘if X is not the case, then Y will be’. In many sentences both alternatives are undesirable, but not necessarily, cf. (72):

- (72) Поищи в книжных магазинах [...] не найдёшь^{PP} девушку, так найдёшь интересную книгу [...]. (О девушках (форум) (2005))
 ‘Look in the bookstores (if) you don’t *find* a girl, then you will find an interesting book.’

Note that the same abstract construction also occurs with other types of predicates such as a perfective past tense, as in (73):

- (73) Если разобьётся, значит, так ему и суждено. Не *сгорел* на земле, так погибнет в воздухе. (В. Быков, Болото)
 [About a parachute jump] ‘If he gets smashed, it means, it is meant to be for him. (If) he didn’t get burned [lit. *burned*] on earth, then he will die in the air.’

Finally, the resumptive form *так* is used in instances of the PCPPC which do not seem to be instances of a particular construction. This is, for example, the case in (69). The use of *так* here seems to stress that the situation expressed in the apodosis is something negative and unavoidable: if the play is a disaster, then I cannot but go to Monte Carlo and gamble all my money, which is a bad thing. Note that a similar negative semantics is also part of many other instances of *так* given above. Perhaps the feature of ‘unavoidability’ accords well with the PCPPC because of its semantic feature of ‘automatic consequence’.

Besides resumptive forms, in some instances of the PCPPC the apodosis is introduced by the coordinative conjunction *и* ‘and’. This use is infrequent, but examples can be found, cf. (74)–(75):

- (74) Такие шутки только по форме (вопрос–ответ) напоминают загадки. На самом же деле здесь ничего отгадывать не надо. Просто *прочтёшь*^{PP}—и смешно станет. (Трамвай, № 4, 1990)
 ‘Those jokes are similar to riddles only with respect to their form (question–answer). In reality, there is nothing to guess here. Just *read* them, and it becomes funny.’
- (75) Такую раз *увидишь*^{PP} и не забудешь. (Ю. Домбровский, Факультет ненужных вещей, часть 2)
 ‘(If) you *see* it once, [and] you won’t forget it.’

As such, the PCPPC differs from hypotactic conditional constructions where the use of *и* is fully excluded:

- (76) Если/как только/когда вспомню, (*и) позвоню.
 Cf. *If/as soon as/when I remember, and I’ll call you.

Furthermore, the restriction on *и* ‘and’ is not present in other paratactic conditional constructions. In the case of the conditional imperative for example, the use of *и* is quite natural, cf. (77):

²⁴Cf. Israeli, A. (2006). Nominal tautologies in Russian. Paper presented at the *BASEES Conference*, April 2006. Cambridge; and Israeli, A. (2008). Tautologies in Russian. Paper presented at the *Slavic Linguistic Society Conference*, June 2008. Columbus.

- (77) *Говори всегда правду, и будет у тебя всегда светло на сердце и ясно на душе!*
 (Л. А. Чарская. Галина правда)
 ‘Always *tell* the truth, and it will always be light in your heart, and have a clear soul.’

The use of *u* is also strongly associated with conditional constructions without a verb as in (34).²⁵ The reason why *u* is fully natural in the conditional imperative as in (23) or (77) but not in the PCPPC may be related to the modal, i.e. non-temporal, character of the imperative. In the conditional imperative the speaker first directs the addressee to imagine himself to be the subject of a particular situation, after which the consequences of this hypothetical situation are mentioned (see e.g. Fortuin 2008). In comparison to sentences without coordinative conjunction, the use of *u* presents an additional mental step in the conceptualization because it emphasizes the temporal consecutive chain of events (see Fortuin and Boogaart 2009). This differs from the PCPPC which expresses two future events, which are interpreted in terms of cause and effect.

In those (few) instances of the PCPPC where the conjunction *u* is used, the use of the coordinative conjunction seems to be connected with a ‘minimal unit’ semantics, expressing that ‘only X is necessary for Y to occur’. See for example (10), (74) and (75) above or (78) below, which has a temporal character (‘when’):

- (78) Три недели *проходят*^{PP}, и я начинаю медленно звереть.
 (Аргументы и факты, 2003.01.29)
 ‘[Only] three weeks *go by*, and I slowly start to get enraged.’

In addition to this, there also seems to be a correlation between the absence of *u* and the use of the perfective aspect in both the protasis and the apodosis. One could hypothesize that the use of perfectives in both clauses sustains the idea of ‘cause and effect’, which makes the use of an explicit coordinative conjunction superfluous and even ungrammatical in most contexts. This might explain why in sentences where the apodosis contains an imperfective aspect, the use of a coordinative conjunction seems to be more natural (e.g. (10) or (74)).

5 Conclusion and further remarks

In this paper I have given a qualitative corpus based semantic analysis of a conditional construction without conditional conjunction (subordinator) in Russian, namely the paratactic conditional perfective present construction (PCPPC). The study of the PCPPC and its near synonyms, especially hypotactic conditional constructions, shows that there is not one feature which triggers the use of the PCPPC instead of another conditional construction available in the linguistic structure. Instead, there are several, sometimes interrelated,

²⁵I have attested only one counterexample in the RNC, cf. (i):

- (i) —Еще одно слово о моей жене—убью!
 ‘One more word about my wife, and I’ll kill you.’
 [cf. example (34), with a present tense in the protasis]

Also note that in very few instances the coordinative conjunction *a* is used instead of *u*, for example in (44).

factors that play a part, resulting in various usage types and contexts that are typical for the PCPPC:

- A reason to use the PCPPC instead of a construction with a conditional/temporal conjunction is that the PCPPC is more typical for informal, usually spoken Russian with a lively and expressive style. There may be various factors which explain this such as the iconic conceptualization of the idea of conditionality, and the tendency for spoken language to be less explicit than written language.
- There is a correlation between the PCPPC and the feature of ‘automatic consequence’. This is due to two factors, namely the presence of a perfective present in both the protasis and the apodosis, and the absence of a conditional conjunction, which presents the idea of condition and consequence in an iconic manner. This feature is probably present to varying degrees in all uses of the PCPPC.
- The PCPPC seems to be typical for particular proverbs, aphorisms or idioms, often in sentences that show features such as morphological or syntactic parallelism and symmetry. These usage types can be explained at least partly in terms of the principle of iconicity. In the absence of a conditional conjunction, the idea of conditionality is presented in a vivid and expressive manner, which is often sustained by features such as morphological and semantic parallelism and rhyme. Because of their structure and function, such instances are good candidates for idiomatization, provided that they are used frequently enough.
- The PCPPC seems to be the preferred conditional construction—also in written Russian—if the speaker wants to express the idea of contrast-symmetry. This usage type can be explained in terms of the principle of economy: because the conditionality of the construction can be inferred from the—usually preceding—context, the speaker does not mark the conditional character explicitly with a conditional conjunction.

I have argued that the features of the PCPPC mentioned here are not idiosyncratic properties of this construction, but also play a part in the case of some other paratactic conditional constructions in Russian, and even in paratactic conditional constructions in other languages. Further research could focus on the use of paratactic conditional constructions from a contrastive Slavic perspective, or even from a broader typological perspective (see the [Appendix](#) for some features of paratactic conditional constructions in other Slavic languages). Another topic which requires further study is the use of resumptive forms such as *mo*, *mozda*, *mak* ‘then’ and the coordinative conjunction *u* ‘and’ in different paratactic and hypotactic conditional constructions. Even though I have discussed the use of these forms, I did not fully cover this topic in the present paper. It is expected that further study will provide more insight into the semantics of conditional constructions.

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Appendix: Some notes on paratactic conditional future tense construction in Slavic

Since I argue that the PCPPC can be explained with reference to general linguistic principles, it would be interesting to compare the Russian PCPPC to similar constructions across Slavic in order to see whether these constructions share particular semantic features with the PCPPC. Such an analysis falls, however, beyond the scope of this analysis. This

appendix contains a very brief overview of constructions that are similar to the PCPPC in some other Slavic languages.

Serbian-Croatian and Bulgarian

In Serbian (and Croatian), the perfective present does not function as a perfective future tense marker in independent sentences, but is typically used in subordinate clauses with conjunctions such as *ako* ‘if’, *kad* ‘when’, or *dok* ‘while’. Serbian has a paratactic conditional construction with a perfective present in the protasis and the interrogative particle *li* immediately placed after it (see e.g. Stepanović 1969, 870; Vojvodić 1989; Dancygier and Trnavac 2007).²⁶ Example (79) is given in Stepanović (1969, 870):

- (79) Ко год игра на лутрији, тај при сваком вучењу има предосећање да ће добити, и никада се не чуди по свршеном вучењу како га је преварило то предосећање. А удари^{PP} ли само једном и на њега слепа срећа, он цео свет уверава да је знао да ће добити.
 ‘Everyone who plays in the lottery sees signs everywhere that he will win, but yet is never surprised if he is deceived by the signs. But (if) for once he *has* pure blind luck, he will start convincing the whole world that he knew that he was going to win.’

In contrast to Russian, in the apodosis an imperfective aspect is often used (see Vojvodić 1989 for an analysis of aspect in this conditional construction and conditional sentences in general). Even though Stepanović (1969) argues that the construction with *li* and sentences with *ako* ‘if’ are interchangeable, he also notices that the construction with *li* is used in contexts where there is more certainty that the occurrence of the situation given in the protasis will lead to the occurrence of the situation given in the apodosis. This might be seen as an indication that the construction expresses the idea of ‘automatic consequence’, even though this character is not very clearly expressed in the example given here. Instead, note that (79) seems to have a contrastive structure, comparable to the use of the PCPPC in Russian. Dancygier and Trnavac (2007, 24), however, provide the example in (80) as a typical example of the construction with the character of ‘automatic consequence’:

- (80) *Napravi*^{PP} li još jednu grešku, lećeće napolje!
 ‘(He) *makes* one more mistake, (he) is out.’

As in Russian, the coordinative form *i* ‘and’ is not used in this construction, even though it does not seem to be altogether excluded (p.c. Dojčil Vojvodić), especially if markers of automatic consequence are used such as *odmah* ‘immediately’ or *istog trenutka* ‘at once’:

- (81) *Napravi*^{PP} li još jednu grešku, i lećece odmah/istog trenutka napolje!
 ‘(He) *makes* one more mistake, and he is out immediately.’

Again, this seems very similar to Russian, where the use of *u* also seems to be more strongly associated with immediacy or restrictive semantics than sentences without resumptive form.

Like in Serbian-Croatian, the present perfective in Bulgarian is typically used in subordinate clauses with conjunctions such as *ako* ‘if’ or *kozamo* ‘when’, and rarely used in

²⁶Cf. the relation between interrogatives and paratactic conditionals in Germanic, as discussed by Leuschner and Van den Nest (to appear).

independent clauses (see Scatton 2002, 213). However, the Academy Grammar by Tilkov (Tilkov 1983, 394, 398) mentions that the use of conditional sentences is possible without conjunction, when the interrogative particle *ли* is placed immediately after the verb. In (82)–(84), some examples are given:²⁷

(82) *Канят*^{PP} *ли* те—еж, гонят ли те—беж. (Popov 1979, 331)
‘(If) they *invite* you—eat, (if) they chase you—run.’

(83) *А рекат*^{PP} *ли* да я дадат на Стояна, дума няма да продума. (Tilkov 1983, 394)
‘But if they *say* that they will bring her to the Stojan family, he won’t say a word.’

(84) Всяка вечер има партита, с най-разнообразни стиллове музика [...]. Клубовете предлагат от джаз и рок, през електронни звуци и d’n’b ритми до класическия шансон. *А стане*^{PP} *ли* *дума* за кан-кан, естествено първата асоциация е Moulin Rouge [...]. (Brown corpus of Bulgarian)
‘Every night there are parties with different music styles. The clubs offer music ranging from jazz and rock to electronic music (electronic beats), and from drum and base to classic chansons. And (if) we *start thinking* about the can-can, then the first association is of course the Moulin Rouge.’

(82) is an example of a proverb, which, interestingly, also has a contrastive-symmetric character, and (83) is introduced by the contrastive conjunction a ‘and’, ‘but’. A contrastive reading is also present in (84). In order to determine whether such readings are typical of the PCPPC in Bulgarian, more data are needed. On the internet examples, which do not have a contrastive context can be found as well. The sentence in (85) is a headline from an article about a football player:

(85) Мигел Торес: *Отидеи*^{PP} *ли* в Реал, няма друг клуб за теб.
http://portal.bg/news.php?id=130675&com_page=1
‘(If) you *leave* for Real (Madrid), there won’t be another club for you.’

Furthermore, according to my informant (p.c. Margarita Gulian) the PCPPC can be used in sentences like (86), where no contrastive context is present:

(86) *Дойдеи*^{PP} *ли* на време, ще има торта за тебе.
‘(If) you *come* on time, we’ ll have cake for you.’

Like in Russian and Serbian-Croatian, the use of the coordinative conjunction *и* ‘and’ is possible, e.g., (87):

(87) *Дойдеи*^{PP} *ли* на време *и* ще има торта за тебе.
‘(If) you *are* on time, [*and*] we will have cake for you.’

Such cases are not attested by me, with the exception of the following sentence, where *и* has an additive function:

²⁷Note, that a similar construction occurs when the particle is placed after a perfective past tense to express a hypothetical condition:

(i) *Крекнеи*^{PP} *ли* само койкошката, тя рипваше от сън. (Tilkov 1983, 398)
‘It was only necessary for a rooster *to cooco*, and she would wake up from her dream.’

According to Tilkov (Tilkov 1983, 398), such sentences, and are typical of literary or spoken languages with colloquial features (“в народно-разговорна реч”).

- (88) *Отидеи*^{PP} *ли* на небето, *и* там ще работиш.
<http://triangle.bg/books/1926-02-10-19.1998/1926-04-07-19.html>
 ‘(If) you *go* to heaven, you will work there as well.’

Polish and Czech

Dancygier and Trnavac (2007) mention the PCPPC in Polish, and give the example in (89):

- (89) *Przeczytasz*^{PP} tę książkę, a zobaczysz że miałam rację.
 (Dancygier and Trnavac 2007, 23)
 ‘You *read* this book, and you’ll see that I was right.’

This example with the verb *zobaczysz* ‘you’ll see’ in the apodosis is probably a typical instance of the PCPPC because similar examples can be attested in the NKJP, e.g. (90):

- (90) *Zadbasz*^{PP} o swoją urodę, a zobaczysz natychmiastowe korzyści. (NKJP)
 ‘(If) you *take care* of your skin, you will immediately see the benefits.’

Both sentences have a character of ‘automatic consequence’. In contrast to Russian, the coordinative conjunction *a* ‘and’ is obligatory, and cannot be omitted (see Dancygier and Trnavac 2007, 23):

- (91) **Przeczytasz*^{PP} tę książkę, zobaczysz że miałam rację.

In Czech, we find a similar construction with a coordinative conjunction, which also seems to have the character of ‘automatic consequence’, and which also requires the use of a coordinative conjunction:

- (92) Já vám něco řeknu^{PP} a Cikáni mi utrhnou hlavu. (CNC)
 ‘(If) I *tell* you anything, the gypsies will get very angry.’

Like in Polish, the use of the coordinative conjunction *a* is obligatory in this construction. In contrast to Russian (and probably Czech), in Polish the same construction also occurs with the resumptive forms *to* or *wtedy* ‘then’. In the examples attested by me the apodosis contains an imperfective future tense, cf. (93) and (94):

- (93) *Zdasz*^{PP} maturę, to *będziesz się malowała*. (NKJP)
 ‘(If) you *pass* your baccalaureate, then you *can use* your *make up*.’
 (94) *Pogadasz*^{PP} z nią, wtedy *będziesz wiedział*, na czym stoisz. (NKJP)
 ‘(If) you *talk* to her, then you *will find out* what everything is about.’

Dancygier and Trnavac (2007, 27) even argue that *to* is the most natural correlator in the PCPPC in Polish, and could also be used in sentences like (89). Further research is necessary to determine whether or not such sentences are also associated with the feature of ‘automatic consequence’.

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